

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 NSC-05

SP-02 PM-03 L-01 INR-05 INRE-00 CIAE-00 SAM-01 OMB-01

/041 W

----- 077610

O 211458Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4332

INFO SECDEF IMMEDIATE

JCS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

USCINCEUR IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 0447

LIMDIS

MOSCOW FOR THE SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, SP, US

SUBJECT: SPANISH BASE NEGOTIATIONS--JAN 20 SESSIONS

SUMMARY: LENGTHY SESSIONS JAN 20 FOCUSED ON THE NATO RELATIONSHIP, FACILITIES, AND THE ASSISTANCE PACKAGE. WHILE GAPS WERE NARROWED, THERE IS STILL A LONG WAY TO GO. THE SPANISH NEGOTIATORS SHOWED RELUCTANCE TO SETTLE ON THE FACILITIES AND ASSISTANCE WITHOUT FIRST RESOLVING THE NATO RELATIONSHIP ISSUE.

AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE WAS REACHED ON A TITLE: "TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION." SPANISH SIDE OFFERED RETENTION OF THE CURRENT STANDBY STATUS AT MORON (CLEARLY IN ORDER TO KEEP THE BASE OPEN). WE WILL AGREE.

WE PICK UP AGAIN THIS AFTERNOON WITH AMBASSADOR MCCLOSKEY IN THE CHAIR FOR THE US SIDE. END SUMMARY.

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1. THE NATO RELATIONSHIP. EXPRESSING DISAPPOINTMENT AT THE

ABSENCE OF A FURTHER US REACTION TO PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS, ROVIRA OFFERED NEW LANGUAGE FOR SUPPLEMENTARY AGREEMENT NO 1 (THE COUNCIL) DEALING WITH THE RELATIONSHIP TO NATO. IT BECAME CLEAR IN A LENGTHY EXCHANGE WHICH FAILED TO PRODUCE ANY PROGRESS THAT ROVIRA'S INSTRUCTIONS WERE TO ACHIEVE LANGUAGE GOING BEYOND THE EXPRESSION OF CLOSER COORDINATION WITH NATO AS AN OBJECTIVE FOR THE FUTURE TO SOMETHING WHICH WOULD DESCRIBE THE MANNER IN WHICH THIS COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED SO AS TO UNDERLINE DIRECT SPANISH PARTICIPATION IN DETERMINING WHAT THE RELATIONSHIP SHOULD BE, AND LATER IN THE RELATIONSHIP ITSELF.

I MADE CLEAR TO ROVIRA THAT WE COULD NOT GO THIS FAR, AND HE UNDERTOOK TO REVIEW THE MATTER ONCE AGAIN WITH ARELZA.

2. AS WE LEFT IT, ROVIRA WAS HOLDING ESSENTIALLY TO THE LANGUAGE REPORTED IN PARA 3 OF MADRID 0352--A RETREAT FROM OUR INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS IN THE INTERIM IN WHICH HE HAD INDICATED HE WOULD PROBABLY BE ABLE TO REMOVE THE LANGUAGE DIRECTLY SUGGESTING THAT THERE WOULD BE A NATO COUNTERPART TO ANY BILATERAL ORGAN SET UP TO DISCUSS THE RELATIONSHIP ISSUE. ROVIRA ARGUED THAT AN EXPRESSION SUCH AS "TO SEEK THE APPROPRIATE COORDINATION WITH NATO" WOULD NOT CONSTITUTE FULFILLMENT BY AREILZA OF THE MANDATE GIVEN HIM BY THE NATIONAL DEFENSE COUNCIL. HE COULD NOT BE MOVED TO CONSIDER USING A WORD SUCH AS "CONCERTAR," TRANSLATING IT AS "TO SEEK " (AS IN ARTICLE 6 OF THE FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT), RATHER THAN WITH ITS COMMON SPANISH TRANSLATION OF "TO ARRANGE." FOR MY PART, I TOLD ROVIRA THAT ALL I COULD DO WAS TO TAKE NOTE OF WHAT HE AD SAID AND TO SEE WHAT REACTION I COULD OBTAIN FROM MY SUPERIORS. HOWEVER, IN A TREATY WE COULD NOT STATE WHAT IT IS WE EXPECT THE ALLIANCE TO DO. ROVIRA CONCLUDED BY CALLING ATTENTION TO ARTICLE 35 OF THE 1970 AGREEMENT, AND ASKING THAT I TRANSMIT TO WASHINGTON THE PLEA THAT IT IS IMPORTANT FOR US TO GO FURTHER THAN THAT.

3. FACILITIES. IT BECAME CLEAR IN OUR DISCUSSION ON FACILITIES THAT BOTH SIDES STILL DESIRE TO INSERT LANGUAGE FROM THE 1970 AGREEMENT (BUT WITHOUT ANY REFERENCE TO THAT AGREEMENT) ON WHICH NO DISCUSSION OF SUBSTANCE HAD YET BEEN HELD. WE SOUGHT THE INSERTION OF LANGUAGE REGARDING THE USE OF AIRSPACE AND OVERFLIGHTS, TAKEN FROM THE CONFIDENTIAL CONFIDENTIAL

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EXCHANGE OF NOTES ASSOCIATED WITH THE 1970 AGREEMENT. THE SPANISH ASKED FOR INCLUSION OF SEVERAL ITEMS FROM CHAPTER 8 OF THE 1970 AGREEMENT: LANGUAGE REQUIRING APPROVAL FOR NEW CONSTRUCTION; LANGUAGE ON THE CONDITIONS FOR REMOVAL OF NON-PERMANENT INSTALLATIONS, WITH A DEFINITION OF THE EXPRESSION "IMPORTANT" USED IN 1970; LANGUAGE COVERING THE CONDITION IN WHICH FACILITIES WILL BE LEFT. I TABLED A TEXT FOR A NEW ARTICLE 3 OF SUPPLEMENTARY AGREEMENT 6 AND A SENTENCE TO BE

INCLUDED IN PARA 1 OF SUPPLEMENTARY AGREEMENT NO 1, USING THE LANGUAGE OF ARTICLE 34 OF THE OLD AGREEMENT. (THESE ITEMS WILL ALSO BE PURSUED TODAY BY THE SOFA NEGOTIATORS, WHO ARE NOW IN MADRID).

(A) SSBN'S: ROVIRA INSISTED THAT HIS INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE NATIONAL DEFENSE COUNCIL WERE THAT THE SSBN'S SHOULD DEPART ON A SPECIFIC DATE PRIOR TO THE EXPIRATION OF THE NEW AGREEMENT BUT INDICATED THAT THE DATE OF TWO YEARS FROM THE SIGNATURE OF THE AGREEMENT PROPOSED BY THE SPANISH SIDE WAS NEGOTIABLE. (INFORMALLY HE HAS FOCUSED ON THE FIGURE OF 3 YEARS). HE RECALLED THAT IN A QUITE DIFFERENT CONTEXT IN SEPTEMBER, WE HAD OFFERED WITHDRAWAL IN 4 YEARS. I REPEATED THAT IT HAD BEEN OUR UNDERSTANDING AS OF EARLY OCTOBER THAT THE SSBN'S WOULD BE ALLOWED TO REMAIN FOR THE LIFE OF THE AGREEMENT AND THAT WE WOULD LIKE TO ADHERE TO THIS. ROVIRA FOR HIS PART TIED THE ISSUE AGAIN TO THE ABSENCE OF A SECURITY GUARANTEE AND EFFECTIVE LINKS WITH NATO.

(B) THE TANKERS. WE ATTEMPTED TO ADDRESS THE SUBSTANCE OF THE SPANISH POSITION WHICH CLAIMS THAT THE KC-135'S ARE A SAFETY HAZARD AND INCREASE THE RISK OF SOVIET NUCLEAR TARGETING. ROVIRA TOOK THE POSITION THAT EVEN A DETACHMENT AT ROTA SHOULD BE REMOVED AT THE TIME THE NUCLEAR SUBMARINES ARE WITHDRAWN. NO INCLINATION WAS SHOWN ON THE SPANISH SIDE TO ALLOW THIS DETACHMENT TO BE STATIONED AT ZARAGOZA.

(C) ZARAGOZA/THE RANGE AT LAS BARDENAS: I EXPRESSED SURPRISE AND CONCERN TO ROVIRA THAT THE SPANISH HAD CHOSEN TO INTRODUCE IN THE SOFA TALKS IN THE CONTEXT OF A REDRAFT OF PROCEDURAL ANNEX 7 (NAVY JAG WASH 5800, DTG 171600Z JAN 76) AN EFFORT TO RESTRICT SERIOUSLY OUR USE OF LAS BARDENAS AND TO INCREASE SHARPLY THE CONFIDENTIAL

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COST OF THE FACILITY TO THE UNITED STATES. GEN. ROBERTSON (16TH AIR FORCE) WILL PURSUE THIS WITH SPANISH AIR FORCE.

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ACTION EUR-08

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SP-02 PM-03 L-01 INR-05 INRE-00 CIAE-00 SAM-01 OMB-01

/041 W

----- 077826

O 211458Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4333

INFO SECDEF IMMEDIATE

JCS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

USCINCEUR IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MADRID 0447

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MOSCOW FOR THE SECRETARY-S PARTY

(D) MORON: ROVIRA ASKED THAT WE CONTINUE MORON IN ITS PRESENT
STANDBY STATUS, INCLUDING THE NAVAL COMMUNICATIONS STATION. AT THE
SAME TIME, HE STATED THAT WE COULD NOT KEEP THE COMMUNICATIONS
STATION ALONE AT MORON AND EXPECT TO AVOID PAYING MAINTENANCE OF THE
AIRSTRIPE, FOR WITHOUT OUR MAINTENANCE THE BASE WOULD BE CLOSED.
WE WILL AGREE TO CONTINUE MORON ON STANDBY.

(E) MINOR FACILITIES/SPANISH REQUEST FOR A COMPLETE
INVENTORY: WE FAILED TO BRIDGE THE GAP BETWEEN OUR PROPOSED
LANGUAGE (CALLING FOR CONTINUATION OF FACILITIES ENJOYED
UNDER THE PREVIOUS ARRANGEMENT EXCEPT FOR SPECIFIC CHANGES)
AND THE SPANISH DESIRE FOR AVOIDING ALL REFERENCE TO PREVIOUS
ARRANGEMENTS, FOR LISTING FACILITIES, AND FOR ACCOMPLISHING
A COMPLETE AND DETAILED INVENTORY OF ALL INSTALLATIONS AT THOSE
FACILITIES. SOME MINOR LANGUAGE CHANGES WERE AGREED TO,
INCLUDING NARROWING THE REQUIRED PERIOD OF CONSULTATIONS PRIOR
TO EXPIRATION OF THE AGREEMENT TO 3 MONTHS. AGAIN, I FELT
CONSTRAINED TO POINT OUT TO ROVIRA THAT WE WOULD BE PREVENTED
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FROM FINISHING IF THE SPANISH CONTINUED IN THE SOFA NEGOTIA-
TIONS TO TABLE NEW LANGUAGE; YET ANOTHER PROCEDURAL
ANNEX ON THE POL PIPELINE HAD BEEN TABLED ONLY THE DAY BEFORE
IN WASHINGTON.

4. THE QUID: I AGAIN REMINDED ROVIRA
AND HIS MILITARY COLLEAGUES THAT WE ARE NOT TALKING ABOUT \$1

BILLION IN MILITARY ASSISTANCE BUT OF A US EFFORT TO DO ITS BEST TO HELP THE SPANISH SIDE FIND A WAY TO INDICATE TO THE SPANISH PUBLIC THAT THE TOTAL VALUE OF THE AGREEMENT TO SPAIN APPROXIMATES \$1 BILLION. IN AN EFFORT TO BE MORE SPECIFIC AS TO HOW THIS MIGHT BE DONE, WE INDICATED THAT THE VALUE TO SPAIN OF AIRCRAFT EXCHANGES, SHIP SALES, EXIMBANK LOANS AND NAVY JOINT-USE PROJECTS AT ROTA SHOULD BE HELPFUL. ADM. HANNIFIN PROVIDED SOME FIGURES ON THE VALUE OF THE 4 MSO MINESWEEPERS AND INTRODUCED AN OFFER TO MAKE AVAILABLE THE FLOATING DRYDOCK AT ROTA ON A MOST FAVORABLE PRICE BASIS WHEN THE SSBN'S LEAVE (AND FOR USE IN THE INTERIM ON A "NOT TO INTERFERE" BASIS). THE SPANISH SIDE INDICATED THAT, CONTRARY TO THEIR EARLIER POSITION, THEY MIGHT WISH TO INCLUDE A REFERENCE TO THE \$450 MILLION OF EXIMBANK CREDITS IN SUPPLEMENTARY AGREEMENT NO 2 (ECONOMIC COOPERATION). I MADE CLEAR WITH RESPECT TO AGREEMENTS 3 AND 4 (SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, EDUCATION AND CULTURE) THAT THE \$35 MILLION I HAD OFFERED WAS OUR LIMIT AND THAT I WAS NOT, REPEAT NOT, AWAITING ANY INSTRUCTIONS ON THE EXTRA \$1 MILLION REQUESTED BY THE SPANISH SIDE AFTER OUR AGREEMENT ON THE \$35 MILLION FIGURE.

5. IT WAS ALSO MADE CLEAR TO THE SPANISH SIDE THAT WE COULD NOT UNDER ANY CONDITION SPECIFY THE INTEREST RATE AT WHICH FMS CREDITS COULD BE MADE AVAILABLE. WE WILL PROVIDE, AT ROVIRA'S REQUEST, AN INDICATION OF CURRENT RATES.

6. THE FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT: THE SPANISH HAVE NOT PRESSED FOR CHANGES IN THE SPANISH EDITION OF THE FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT INITIALED IN OCTOBER, ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT THEY WOULD LIKE TO. THE ONLY CHANGE, THUS, IS THE ADDITION IN ARTICLE 7 OF THE WORD "ONLY" IN THE PHRASE "...SHALL ENTER INTO FORCE ONLY UPON THE EXCHANGE OF NOTIFICATIONS..." I HAVE URGED THAT, ON THE ASSUMPTION WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO SIGN THE FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT AND THE SEVEN

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SUPPLEMENTARY AGREEMENTS THIS WEEKEND, WE ALSO DEVISE LANGUAGE FOR THE FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT OBVIATING THE NEED FOR 32 SEPARATE SIGNATURES BY EACH MINISTER.

7. ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM AREILZA, ROVIRA ABRUPTLY BROUGHT TO AN END OUR NUMEROUS DISCUSSIONS REGARDING THE TITLE OF THE AGREEMENT BY SUGGESTING THE TITLE "TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION", TO WHICH I AGREED.

8. AFTER THIS AFTERNOON'S SESSION, WE SHOULD HAVE A BETTER IDEA OF WHAT THE PROSPECTS ARE FOR EARLY COMPLETION.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MILITARY BASES, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 21 JAN 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GarlanWA
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976MADRID00447
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760022-1248
From: MADRID
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760135/aaaabetx.tel
Line Count: 275
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GarlanWA
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 30 OCT 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <30 OCT 2003 by GarlanWA>; APPROVED <30 OCT 2003 by GarlanWA>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SPANISH BASE NEGOTIATIONS--JAN 20 SESSIONS SUMMARY: LENGTHY SESSIONS JAN 20 FOCUSED ON THE NATO RELATIONSHIP
TAGS: MARR, SP, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006